

CLANDESTINE AMERICA



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"This is the Age of Investigation, and every citizen must investigate." — Ed Sanders

CASTRO, KENNEDY, and NIXON

In his recent piece in the New York Review of Books (10/13/77), former CBS correspondent Daniel Schorr takes a look at the CIA-Mob plots to kill Castro and the JFK assassination. Schorr hypothesizes that a report in the New Orleans Times-Picayune (9/9/63) of Castro's remarks to an AP correspondent (Castro bitterly denounces US-sponsored raids on Cuba and warns that "U.S. leaders should think that if they are aiding terrorist plans to eliminate Cuban leaders, that they themselves will not be safe") may have been read by Oswald and inspired him to kill Kennedy. Carl Oglesby's response to Schorr follows.

Daniel Schorr would have helped our understanding of Kennedy and Castro and the assassination plots against the two of them had he laid out the implications of a key fact in this matter which he repeats but skates over, namely, that the CIA campaign to destroy Castro began no later than March 1960, a half year before Kennedy was elected, eight months before he took power.

Who held power in the United States in early 1960? Just to ask the question is to see all at once one of the major shortcomings of Schorr's analysis: He has managed totally to suppress the role of Nixon. The Cuba story is not simply the story of Kennedy and Castro; indeed to the extent that this story is in recent decades shot through with violence and underhandedness, its chief author is Nixon a thousand times more than Kennedy.

1959-60: Eisenhower is weakened by illness and Nixon assumed practical command of government in important spheres, notably that of clandestine operations. Nixon's main operations center was his office at the National Security Council, of which he was chief acting political officer. It was the NSC's "Special Group (5412)" under Nixon's political supervision that decided already in 1959 that Castro was a threat to U.S. interests and would have to be eliminated. The Special Group proceeded to conceive and implement a plan to roll back the Cuban revolution, a plan which included among other things the contract on Castro's life.

At this point in 1960, Nixon was still confident of succeeding Eisenhower to the presidency. The planners of the Cuban invasion were similarly confident that their efforts would not fall foul at the last moment of a new and skeptical chief of state. Kennedy was still just a speck in the Nixon group's distance when these basic moves were made.

What exactly happened to Nixon's Cuba program once Kennedy took over remains of course highly controversial. Yet it is clear that Nixon's clandestine campaign building toward the Cuban invasion did not stop just because Kennedy took Nixon's place. The invasion plans kept unfolding. By April, only Kennedy's fourth month in office, the invasion was itself unfolding, and falling apart, at the Bay of Pigs.

Kennedy had brought with him people, such as Chester Bowles, who were capable of criticizing and challenging Nixon's Cuba

Who Forged the Photos?

At the request of the Canadian Broadcasting Corp., photo technologists from the Canadian Dept. of Defense examined the photos, reportedly taken by Marina, of Oswald holding a rifle and left wing newspapers. The Canadian experts declared the photos to be forgeries. The examination was performed for a CBC Nov. 22nd production on the JFK assassination.

plans. Bowles gave Kennedy the thought that some other means of dealing with Castro short of war might exist. Why risk it? Were the Cuban people really in revolt against Castro's leadership, as claimed by the CIA intelligence reports? We know now that these reports were CIA fabrications and that they were prepared especially for Kennedy on the intuition that he would find it easier to accept a popular rebellion against a strongman than a piece of naked gunboat diplomacy. What faith Kennedy had put in these reports we may guess from the limitations he imposed on U.S. participation in the invasion. No U.S. personnel, no B-26s, no assassination of Castro.

In fact, the invasion that took place, the stunted one that failed and earned bad fame all around as the Bay of Pigs *Fiasco*, may well have failed partly because Kennedy did pull all its punches. That was at any rate the opinion of many veterans of the *Fiasco*, who promptly began to see their main enemy as Kennedy, not Castro. The anti-Castro group's hatred of Kennedy was conspicuous and was by no means subsiding through the period in which Schorr exclusively concentrates on one of the many Castro assassination schemes that failed, the CIA's AM/Lash project around Rolando Cubela Secades. The activities of this passionate assassin are of interest, but one can hardly understand them by supposing, with Schorr, that if Cubela was working for the CIA when he went to kill Castro, then he must have been working for Kennedy. Not at all. That is exactly the kind of assumption that all our current discoveries about the corruption of the presidential command chain have sent to the relic room. In no way can a CIA cover identify a man like Cubela as an agent of Kennedy's presidential will.

Schorr might object that he never accused Kennedy of actually ordering Castro's assassination. Schorr does not even have to show that Castro *thought* Kennedy was behind the assassination attempts against him. It matters for Schorr's theory only what Oswald might have *thought* Castro wanted and Kennedy deserved. For Schorr, it is enough if we can picture "avid newspaper reader" Oswald coming across the AP dispatch from Havana. Well, why would the same "avid reader" not also have seen dispatches later than month telling of the raids Kennedy had

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The House Investigation Progress Report

King Case

On October 28, Scripps-Howard writer Tim Wyngaard reported:

"Chairman Louis Stokes, D-Ohio, of the HSCA has informed panel members to expect 'blockbuster' developments in the investigation of the killing of the Rev. Martin Luther King, Jr.

"Committee members said Stokes told them the Committee's investigating staff has developed 'startling' information about the slaying of the civil rights leader in 1968. They said Stokes promised them a full briefing by the middle of next month.

"The committee's investigation of the assassination of President John F. Kennedy has been scaled down and the panel's professional staff apparently has been spending virtually all its time exploring new leads in the King case.

"Sources said Stokes has moved the headquarters for that investigation to St. Louis from Washington to lessen national media attention and to allow the staff to spend all the time it needs in Memphis.

"In addition, the sources said, Stokes has told them the King investigators turned up 'more than 100' witnesses who never have been interviewed by police officials. The probe has taken congressional investigators to Canada to pursue leads there as well, the sources said."

Chairman Stokes later denied this report.

As the above story broke, James Earl Ray was being convicted of escape for his breakout from a Tennessee prison this past June. Ray was given a one to two year sentence. He is already serving a 99 year term for the King assassination.

Ray contended, in the defense presented by his new attorney, Mark Lane, that he had escaped from prison in the hope of fleeing to Canada and then bargaining with Attorney General Griffin Bell for a new trial in the King case.

After a 7-hour meeting on November 14 with 4 staff members of the HSCA, James Earl Ray agreed to take a lie detector test. This was the sixth meeting between Ray and HSCA representatives since March 22. Deputy chief counsel Robert Lehner said the lie detector test will be given to Ray after the current series of interviews. The next interview is slated for December 22.

On October 30, a bullet was fired into the Memphis home of Rep. Harold Ford, a member of the King Subcommittee of the HSCA. No one was hurt in the incident, and the Memphis police said they had no suspects, nor could they offer a motive for the shooting.

JFK Case

The JFK Subcommittee of the HSCA met in secret session for 3 days during the week of November 14. On the first day, testimony was taken from Loran Hall. Hall had also given two days of testimony just two weeks prior to his most recent appearance.

The *Washington Post* (11/6/77) reported that 14 pathologists attended a secret HSCA seminar in September to review JFK autopsy records.

The *Dallas-Times Herald* (11/2/77) reported that the FBI, in response to more than 50 FOIA requests, will release in December 80,000 pages from its JFK assassination file. The material will cover the first six months of the FBI's probe. Researchers will be looking with particular interest at the sources of the agency's information on Oswald, both before and after the assassination. The AIB plans to make a thorough analysis of the documents.

On November 7, attorney Bernard Fensterwald of the Committee to Investigate Assassinations argued in Judge Sirica's court for a judicial review of material in the CIA's JFK assassination files, that is currently classified. Fensterwald's suit had supporting affidavits from a number of individuals including Sen. Richard Schweiker, former Congressman and HSCA chairman Thomas Downing, UN Human Rights Ambassador Allard Lowenstein, and Warren Commission critics Paul Hoch, Dr. Cyril Wecht and Dr. Robert Joling. Sirica raised the possibility of appointing a Court Master to review the documents. A decision is expected shortly

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launched to close down the Stateside bases of the Cuban counter-revolution? How indeed could Oswald have failed to learn in New Orleans, center of such intense exile activity, that Kennedy had become the main enemy of his hero's main enemies?

Schorr assumes that discerning people will follow him in his presumption of Oswald's guilt and in his indifference to the whole continuing debate about the Warren Commission's work. Even the *New York Times* and CBS will sometimes admit there's something real to argue about. Schorr can hardly have been the only one not to have seen the Zapruder film. But in spite of his indifference, it is still a fact that the president's head was thrown backward by the bullet that killed him, not forward, and a fact that this reaction is more compatible with a shot from the front than the rear, and a fact that if Kennedy was shot from the front then necessarily someone besides Oswald was shooting. Which is only to say that most reasonable people who are informed on this question feel a need to put the lone-Oswald theory in suspense. It is a theory among others, not a final explanation, and as such cannot be taken for granted as the cornerstone of an extended analysis of the assassination.

Let me propose a different theory. I think the facts imply that Kennedy's moves against militant anti-Castroism generated great furies among the anti-Castroites, and that these furies, adding to others emerging around Vietnam, disarmament, the status of Johnson, etc., achieved concrete expression in the forming of an assassination cabal operating through the CIA-Syndicate-Cuban nexus originally created to get rid of Castro. Oswald may well have been an undercover agent of some stripe and may have been in contact with elements of the Kennedy assassination plot, but he was not a party to it, only the carefully picked and prepared patsy. The cabal included adventurers and soldiers of fortune, turned officers and rogue agents of the clandestine services, rightwing nuts, Syndicate criminals, and a handful of political and financial figures as passionate in their hatred of Kennedy and Castro as in their admiration of Johnson and Nixon.

Strange enough to mention, this view is in fact implicit in the surprising metaphor with which Schorr closes his essay. He writes, "An arrow launched into the air to kill a foreign leader may well have fallen back to kill our own." Not to belabor the obvious, but if we were to unpack this metaphor as though at school again, what would we take this "arrow" to stand for if not the CIA-Syndicate-Cuban assassination group "launched into the air" by Nixon to kill "foreign leader" Castro? And to think of Kennedy as being killed by this arrow "falling back" — is this not to think of him as being killed by that group, by the anti-Castro assassination project? The metaphor is Schorr's, though this could hardly have been his intended meaning. This meaning rather is what most of the veteran critics of the Warren finding have on Oswald as assassin, namely, that Kennedy was killed because he set himself between Castro and the forces opposed to Castro, not because he sided with those forces, and that Oswald was not the pointman of the assassination plot but its patsy and additional victim.



WHO KILLED KAREN SILKWOOD?

November 13th marked the third anniversary of the death of Karen Silkwood, a union activist and laboratory analyst at the Oklahoma plutonium plant of the Kerr-McGee Corporation. Silkwood was en route to a meeting at the Holiday Inn in Oklahoma City with *NY Times* reporter David Burnham and Steve Wodka, a representative from the legislative office of Karen's union, the Oil, Chemical and Atomic Workers, when her Honda Civic Hatchback crashed along Highway 74 into a concrete culvert. The circumstances surrounding her death remain shrouded in mystery and suspicion.

In 1974, Silkwood was elected to the union's local Steering Committee and was active in educating the workers to the dangers of handling plutonium—a highly toxic, radioactive substance. In going to see Burnham and Wodka, Silkwood was planning to present documentation of numerous safety violations at the Kerr-McGee plant where she worked. She had collected proof that Kerr-McGee was falsifying quality checks to pass defective fuel rods they were manufacturing. (The faulty fuel rods could cause an atomic accident that would kill thousands of people.)

When a highway patrolman arrived at the scene of the accident, he noticed several documents strewn about near the wrecked car. He picked them up and put them in the back of the car. The next day, when Burnham, Wodka and Drew Stephens, Silkwood's boyfriend, arrived to retrieve the car, the documents and other files that had been in the auto were gone.

The report of the Oklahoma Highway Patrol noted that the autopsy had revealed traces of alcohol and a sedative in Silkwood's bloodstream and therefore concluded that she had fallen asleep and wandered off the road. But Silkwood's union, OCAW, was suspicious at the news of the missing documents and hired an independent investigator, A. O. Pipkin, a former cop and veteran of 2,000 accidents, to probe further. On Nov. 19th, Pipkin announced the discovery of physical and chemical evidence suggesting Silkwood had been the victim of a hit-and-run attack. Pipkin discovered two fresh dents—one in the rear bumper, the other in the rear fender—which appeared to have been made by a car bumper. He also noticed that Silkwood's car had crossed over the yellow lines and hit the culvert on the left side of the highway. If she had been in a stupor, he reasoned, she would have drifted to the right. Pipkin also found something the police had apparently ignored—tire tracks indicating the car had been out of control before it left the highway. Conclusion—another car had forced Silkwood off the road.

Who was driving the 'hit-and-run' auto? Why was Karen Silkwood forced off the road?

In the 3 years since Karen's death, her family, friends and supporters have fought to overcome numerous impediments to an investigation and have persisted in their efforts to determine who was responsible for her death. The family also has been trying to learn how their daughter had been contaminated with plutonium in the week preceding her death. (Plutonium is a deadly poison and even minuscule amounts are carcinogenic.)

In the summer of 1975, Kitty Tucker, Sara Nelson and Karen DeCrow of the National Organization of Women (NOW) approached the Justice Dept. and demanded to know why the Silkwood case had been closed. The women were told that they must be watching too much TV because in real life all crimes are not solved.

In the fall of 1975, the women from NOW presented 8,500 signatures to the Senate Committee on Government Operations. Senator Lee Metcalf promised that his subcommittee would hold hearings. Five months later, as the hearings were to begin, Metcalf abruptly cancelled them. His decision came one day after a visit from Kerr-McGee's Chairman of the Board, Dean McGee. Metcalf's sudden reversal prompted the largest outpouring of mail on any one issue ever received in the history of the Committee.

In the spring of 1976, hearings were held by the Subcm. on Energy and the Environment of the House Comm. on Small Business, headed by Rep. John Dingell. Information presented at the hearings confirmed much of what Silkwood had alleged about Kerr-McGee's numerous safety violations. Dingell's chief investigator, Peter Stockton, was warned to forget about the Silkwood case, saying that it was too complicated and that he would never figure it out.

In June, 1976 a Mafia call girl in suburban Detroit named Rep. Dingell as one of her clients after the local police were tipped off to her by the FBI. Even so, further hearings were scheduled for December, 1976, but Dingell was subsequently stripped of his subcm. chairmanship by the Democratic caucus.

On Nov. 5, 1976, in a suit filed in Federal District Court in Oklahoma City, members of the Board of Directors and the management of the Kerr-McGee Corp. were charged with conspiring to violate the civil rights of Karen Silkwood. The suit charged that the defendants had violated Silkwood's rights as a union member and as a citizen reporting problems to the press and gov't. Three FBI agents and FBI informant Jacque Srouji (a one-time copy editor for the *Nashville Tennessean*) were charged with aiding a cover-up of the conspiracy.

The Kerr-McGee Corp. was charged in a separate count with legal liability for the plutonium poisoning of Silkwood and her home (the highest levels of plutonium were discovered in food in her refrigerator.) The corporations that handle plutonium must be licensed by the gov't and must guarantee that they will keep this hazardous substance under tight control. The very fact that plutonium was found in Silkwood's apartment indicates that Kerr-McGee had failed to exercise such control. In fact, at the time of Karen's death, 60 pounds of plutonium were missing from the Kerr-McGee plant (enough to make 5 atom bombs) and there is speculation that Karen was killed because she had uncovered a plutonium smuggling ring. Because of the plutonium contamination, the lawyer for the Silkwood family, an expert in personal injury claims, is asking that the directors and officers of Kerr-McGee be held responsible for \$2 million in damages.

It seems clear that Karen was being watched by Kerr-McGee security forces. FBI informant Jacque Srouji told congressional investigator Peter Stockton that the company hired Pinkertons to spy on union activists and boasted that she had transcripts of Silkwood's wiretapped phone conversations. Srouji has since denied that she had these transcripts, one of the many contradictions to her previous statements.

Kerr-McGee has tried to use the suit to further its own intelligence gathering efforts aimed at union and anti-nuclear activists. Kerr-McGee subpoenaed Supporters of Silkwood, Inc., its president Kitty Tucker, Sara Nelson of the NOW Labor Task Force and Bob Alvarez of the Environmental Policy Center for depositions. Among other things, Kerr-McGee demanded that SOS and the witnesses produce their membership lists, internal organizational documents, funding sources and all documents related to nuclear power. The witnesses refused to provide this material, since many of their requests were irrelevant to the civil litigation.

This attempt to gather intelligence on opponents of nuclear power is not an isolated incident. The *Washington Post* revealed on Nov. 7th that the Georgia Power Co., one of the nation's largest electric utilities, maintained a nine-member intelligence-gathering unit that collected information on a wide variety of individuals, including Ralph Nader, environmental and consumer activists, the Georgia chapter of the ACLU and the press. A former member of the Georgia Power security staff said that among the names in the files were persons who had opposed the utility's requests for rate increases.

As the numbers and activities of the anti-nuke movement continue to grow, and the debate over the pros and cons of nuclear power intensifies, the responses of the power companies and officialdom pose grave threats to individual civil liberties. A paper *continued on page 8*



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Assassination Update

Sturgis-Lorenz Affair

Frank Sturgis, the convicted Watergate burglar and long-time anti-Castro activist, received a spate of publicity recently when his former partner in a botched plot to kill Castro, Marita Lorenz, charged that Sturgis had "instilled in her a fear that she would be killed" if she testified before the HSCA. The charges were subsequently dismissed.

Lorenz said in a 9/20/77 *NY Daily News* story that she, Sturgis, Cuban exile leaders Orlando Bosch and Pedro Diaz Lanz, and two Cubans accompanied Lee Harvey Oswald to Dallas on 11/19/63 as part of an "assassin squad" whose mission was to murder President Kennedy. In all the recent media attention, as a result of her charges against Sturgis, Lorenz embellished her story by adding that Sturgis had fired at JFK from Dealey Plaza's infamous grassy knoll. In addition, in an interview with NY's Channel 5-TV, she said that veteran soldier-of-fortune, Gerald Patrick Hemming, was also among the team that accompanied Sturgis, Oswald, and company to Dallas.

The *New York Times* reported that "sources close to the HSCA have discounted the current speculation about Mr. Sturgis." However, HSCA investigators Gaeton Fonzi and Al Gonzalez were in New York City the previous weekend and took statements from Lorenz. The *New York Daily News* also reported that Chief Counsel Blakey had flown to New York City on Monday to question Lorenz. However, two days later in Washington Blakey denied the reports that he had been to New York City.

There is good reason to believe that Lorenz lured Sturgis to New York City by paying his plane fare from Miami and sought the publicity so that she could obtain a lucrative book contract. The AIB heard a tape recording of a phone conversation between Lorenz and Sturgis where she offered to pay Sturgis' way to New York City, complained about her financial situation, and said she wished she could retract what she had said about Sturgis and the JFK plot.

One particularly unusual element to Sturgis' arrest was the fact that he was arrested by two detectives from the New York City Police Intelligence Division. When they arrested him, the detectives had been waiting in Lorenz's apartment building for Sturgis to arrive. Normally in cases like this where it is one person's word against another's, the purported victim swears out a complaint in court. Only in cases where there is a serious injury or a witness to the crime do the police actually make an arrest.

These unusual circumstances have fostered speculation that Lorenz, a one-time operative for the CIA and FBI, may also have performed services for the NYC Police Intelligence Division. NYC Police Commissioner Codd ordered a top-level investigation into the circumstances surrounding the involvement of the two detectives.

Tim Crouse writes in the Village Voice (11/21/77) that "Marita used to be an auxiliary policewoman in the 23rd precinct . . . she became acquainted with several cops there and was quite close to a deputy inspector."

Marina and Lee

It should be obvious that this is not your average no-conspiracy book. This is not David Belin carping about Mark Lane or Lawrence Schiller ripping into the critics. There is no vitriol here for the various conspiracy theories or theorists. In fact, Priscilla McMillan writes of Oswald and the assassination as if the only remaining enigma is why no one detected Lee's "sickness" before it was too late.



The air-tight case which author McMillan builds for Lee Harvey Oswald as archetypical lone assassin is best seen in the following paragraph from her book *Marina and Lee* (Harper & Row):

"The announcement of the President's route was the last in a chain of twelve or fifteen events without any one of which Lee might have approached his decision in a very different frame of mind. The first of these events, curiously, appears to have been the attempt on Nikita Krushchev's life in Minsk while Lee was living there in January 1962. Another was Lee's failure to receive any sort of punishment on his re-defection to the United States later that year." (*Wonder why?*) "Still another was Marina's letter of January 1963 to her former suitor, Anatoly Shpanko, who in her eyes and possibly in Lee's as well, bore a resemblance to President Kennedy." (*Even Marina has said she doesn't buy this one.*) "There had been the failure of Lee's attempt on General Walker and the heightened sense of immunity which he carried away from that episode. When Lee had moved to New Orleans, there was the murder in June 1963, of Medgar Evers, in a town nearby, and only a few hours after a speech by Kennedy." (*Who is she accusing here?*) "Then there was the passage in William Manchester's book, comparing Kennedy to a president who had been assassinated . . ." (*Why do they always bring poor Garfield into these things?*) ". . . the death of the Kennedy baby at a time when the Oswalds too expected a baby." (*Talk about connections!*) "There was Lee's brief incarceration in New Orleans, an interlude during which he had two enjoyable conversations with Police Lieutenant Francis Martello and realized that prison could be an excellent forum from which to proclaim his political ideas. And there was the fiasco of Lee's visit to Mexico and his failure to obtain a Cuban visa which, curiously, may have turned Castro into a negative constituent." (?) "Far from wanting to fight for Castro, Lee may now have wanted to show him, as he almost always did after he was dealt a rebuff, what a good fighter he had missed out on."

All of the potentially conspiratorial junctures in Lee's life are recorded yet sidestepped here. His Marine Corps security status, his immunity upon re-entering the U.S., his relationship to De Mohrenshildt, the White Russians, the Paines, his Fair Play for Cuba Committee adventures, his bus trip to Mexico, and the weeks leading up to November 22 which are chronicled by Mrs. McMillan with an unthinking naivete that is a rare quality in this twentieth century age of revelations.

Yet the book is not worthless (nor worth \$15.00). In the same way that Gerald Frank's *An American Death*, though errant in its conclusions, is a useful catalogue of some of the facts in the King case, *Marina and Lee* contains illuminating documentation of Oswald's strange flirtation with various leftist groups and good, though remarkably unsuspecting, insights into the role of the Paines.

Reading the book is not an exercise in find-the-seven-mistakes so much as it is a study in cover-up by omission. When Mrs. McMillan discusses the two American girls Oswald chats with on the bus to Mexico but neglects to mention the one person on the bus, Albert Osborne, whom the FBI spent many futile hours in questioning, you know there is something going on.

What exactly is going on? At the 1975 A.J. Liebling convention, Mrs. McMillan acknowledged, "I've devoted a lot of time to Oswald's life so I have a vested interest in his having done it." Over the years, questions have been raised about the kind of encouragement Mrs. McMillan received in pursuing details of Oswald's life. We don't claim to know the answers. As in so many other areas of the JFK assassination saga, there are few answers, only questions.

Consider the following:

** As Moscow correspondent for the North American News paper Alliance in 1959, Priscilla interviewed a young defector named Lee Harvey Oswald. In her testimony before the Warren Commission, she said that she conducted the interview at the request of John McVickar, a State Department official with the U.S. Embassy.*

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ASSASSINATION UPDATE continued

* On page 24 of CD-49, (title: "Persons Alleged to Know Lee Harvey Oswald") Priscilla Johnson is identified as an employee of the State Department.

* After the CIA orchestrated the defection of Svetlana Alliluyeva (Stalin's daughter), her book was translated by Priscilla Johnson McMillan.

A CIA memo dated 4/8/64 (No. 646-277) on the subject of Oswald's address book, lists an entry under the name Johnson. The CIA notes that "this is most likely Priscilla Johnson" and later notes, "She has apparently been employed on a part-time basis within the U.S. Embassy in Moscow during two periods of residence in Russia." Approximately six lines of the CIA's reference to Priscilla Johnson have been censored.

Helms

(Recently former-CIA Director Richard Helms pleaded "no contest" to charges of lying to the Senate Intelligence Committee investigating the overthrow of the Allende government in Chile. This was not the first time that Helms lied before official investigations.)

In sworn testimony before the Warren Commission in May, 1964, Helms (then head of the CIA's clandestine services) said the CIA never had any contacts with Lee Harvey Oswald. He said, "there's no material in the CIA, either in the records or in the mind of any of the individuals that there was any contact had or even contemplated with" Oswald. However, a CIA document released a year ago as a result of an Associated Press suit under the Freedom of Information Act directly contradicts Helms' testimony. The CIA memo, written by an unidentified CIA officer three days after the JFK assassination, says that the CIA considered using Oswald as a source of intelligence information about the Soviet Union "sometime in the summer of 1960."

The memo, containing several partial deletions, says that "we showed intelligence interest" in Oswald and "discussed . . . the laying on of interviews through . . . or other suitable channels." The unidentified officer adds later that, "I do not know what action developed thereafter." Regarding the CIA's interest in Oswald, the memo states, "we were particularly interested in the (deleted) Oswald might provide on the Minsk factory in which he had been employed, on certain sections of the city itself, and of course we thought the usual (deleted) that might help develop (deleted) personality dossiers." Despite this statement, the CIA still claims it had no contact at all with Oswald when he returned to the U.S. from Russia in 1962.

Kleindienst and the Teamsters

On 11/1/77 former Attorney General Richard Kleindienst testified under oath before the Senate Permanent Subcommittee on Investigations that he helped insurance promoter Joseph Hauser get a contract with a Teamster pension fund and then shared a \$250,000 fee with him. The following day, Teamster President Frank Fitzsimmons contradicted the statements of his good friend Kleindienst. Although neither Kleindienst nor Fitzsimmons have been charged with anything illegal, the cast of characters in this investigation have some interesting ties to organized crime and the JFK assassination.

Kleindienst, who served under President Nixon, was the first Attorney General ever to be convicted of a crime. He pleaded guilty to lying to a Senate committee at his confirmation hearings and was sentenced to 30 days in jail and a \$100 fine. As in the recent Helms case, both were suspended. He is currently a member of the Washington law firm of Welsh, Morgan, and Kleindienst.

Hauser is a former client of Kleindienst who is being investigated by the Senate and the SEC on charges of swindling \$13 million in union funds. Last March he was convicted in federal court of bribing union officials in a separate, but similar case

involving union pension funds. Hauser's attorney at the hearings was Henry Rothblatt, the same man who recently defended Frank Sturgis in New York City.

The investigation of Kleindienst centered around whether he interceded on Hauser's behalf with convicted labor racketeer, Allen Dorfman. Dorfman, who has been involved since 1950 with the Teamsters' top leadership as a "consultant," is cited by Congressional sources as a key figure in organized crime. He has been indicted four times in connection with union business and in 1972 he was convicted of conspiracy in connection with a \$55,000 kickback to himself.

The administrator of the Teamster health and welfare fund, Daniel J. Shannon, told Senate investigators that the Pension Fund has been "subservient" to the interests of Dorfman and his company, Amalgamated, "for a long period of time." Other Senate witnesses have testified that Kleindienst had several contacts with Dorfman before the contract was awarded to Hauser. Kleindienst dismissed these contacts as a "minor incident." Dorfman cited his 5th Amendment privilege not to implicate himself 11 times and refused to testify before the committee.

Dorfman appeared before the committee accompanied by his counsel, Albert E. Jenner, now a Chicago attorney. Jenner previously has been the minority counsel for the House Judiciary impeachment hearings of President Nixon and a senior counsel on the Warren Commission staff. For the Warren Commission he was assigned to Area III — Oswald's background — with counsel Wesley Liebler. Their appointed task was to trace Oswald's life to find factors which might have caused him to murder JFK.

Dorfman's step-father was Paul Dorfman, Jimmy Hoffa's top underworld ally and the man who helped Hoffa set up the Syndicate-Pension Fund alliance in the late 1940s. In those days the Hoffa-Dorfman connection to Chicago local 20467 of the Scrap Iron and Junk Handler's Union was Jack Ruby, the man the Warren Commission would later say had absolutely no ties to organized crime. Ruby and Dorfman had known each other for 10 years prior to this union involvement and for a time local 20467 actually used the address of Ruby's gym, Postl's, a notorious mob hangout. Ruby was the secretary for this Chicago local and this Hoffa-Dorfman-Ruby alliance was the first such Mob-Teamster pension fund set-up — the forerunner to the present Kleindienst-Dorfman-Hauser-Fitzsimmons investigation.

Shall We Tell the President?

There is an interesting passage in Jeffrey Archer's recently released novel, *Shall We Tell The President?*, involving AIB member Carl Oglesby. The book deals with a conspiracy to assassinate President Edward M. Kennedy in 1983. This is the book, you may recall, that caused a flap in October between Jacqueline Kennedy Onassis and Viking Press, the publisher of the book. (Mrs. Onassis resigned her position as a consulting editor at Viking because she was reportedly upset at published reports that she had condoned the book's publication.)

The plot to kill EMK is to take place on the day of a crucial Senate vote on gun control legislation. Knowing of the plot, FBI Special Agent Marc Andrews has 6 days to find the assassin. Just before he sets out to track down the assassin, Andrews has the following conversation with a friend:

"Mafia wanted EMK out of the way in '76 so they could avoid an inquiry he was pressing for into the death of those two hoodlums, Sam Giancana and John Rosseli; they don't love him any more now with the way he is running the Gun Control Bill."

"Mafia? Gun Control Bill? Where do I find all the facts?" asked Marc.

"I can tell you it's not in the Warren Commission Report or any of the later inquiries. Your best bet is *The Yankee-Cowboy War* by Carl Oglesby — you'll find it all there."

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ABC's The Trial of Lee Harvey Oswald

The AIB believes the following letter, which was submitted to the New York Times in response to a Times editorial of 10/9/77 on ABC's program, The Trial of Lee Harvey Oswald, serves as a general response to the overall criticism of the program.

When the *Times* adds to its attack on the ABC's "docudrama" on Oswald the complaint that "a veritable industry has grown up" around the Kennedy assassination, it should realize that it is only staring its own failures in the face.

Among all newspapers, the *Times* towers supreme in the defense of regular thinking on the JFK issue and has fiercely refused over the years to acknowledge the shortcomings of the official theory, even when Congress itself has seen the need to re-open the case. Then of all newspapers, how can the *Times* now have the cheek to rebuke ABC for "gross irresponsibility" when ABC responds to a growing public sense of official bamboozlement in this matter by permitting the expression of a counter-theory based on the conspiracy hunch?

True, as the *Times* says, "From the beginning, the Kennedy assassination has been beset by inadequate investigation and overwrought imagination." Yes, and was the most "inadequate investigation" of all not that of the Warren Commission itself, as it studiously avoided such critical questions as Oswald's ties to the U.S. intelligence community and Ruby's ties to organized crime? Was the most "overwrought imagination" not that of the Warren lawyers who gave us the absurd thesis of the single-bullet in order to obviate the numerous indications that shots were fired at Kennedy from a place Oswald could not have been?

The "docu-drama" form has serious flaws, probably fatal ones; but the most pitiable thing about ABC's "Oswald" is that it is not less well documented, not less provable, not indeed more fictional, than the self-styled "factual and objective" treatments of the event offered over the years by the big voices of the mass media such as the *Times* and CBS. Agreed, docu-drama is not form for the final orderly presentation of the facts. But the form arises nonetheless (a) because people so badly need a realistic-feeling conception of what happened to the President and our government, and the Warren theory does not satisfy this need; and (b) because the main stream media news bureaus have been so pre-committed over the years to a policy of brushing off and smearing the Warren critics, smugly resuming silence, then sighing "What, again?" every time they rediscover they have not yet sold the lone-assassin fantasy to the masses.

Certainly the ABC "Oswald" was much more speculative than it pretended to be, but that is also true of the Warren Commission's no-conspiracy theory. The *Times* may pretend to have caught ABC's story in fatal exaggeration, but one suspects the real reason for the *Times*' editorial fury is that for the first time ever on a prime-time mass medium there has been presented a generally intelligent and well-informed reconstruction of the Kennedy assassination that begins to take account of the strong case Oswald might have built in his defense and that does not shrink from troubling signs that a conspiracy might have been afoot.

Carl Oglesby
Assassination Information Bureau

The *Times*, *Newsweek*, and other media giants chose to attack ABC for factual errors and innuendo in one particular area—the dramatized phone call from LBJ to the prosecutor (Ben Gazzara). The *Times* said, "There is no evidence that Lyndon B. Johnson interfered in any way with investigations of the assassination." *Newsweek* said, "There is not a shred of evidence that Johnson ever intruded in the assassination investigation." LBJ's very act of setting up the Warren Commission for the purpose of squelching

". . . rumors of the most exaggerated (sic) kind that were circulating in this country and overseas" was itself an intrusion (From an internal WC memo by Melvin A. Eisenberg, dated 2/17/64, entitled "First Staff Conference (1/20/64)"). This memo goes on to detail LBJ's talk with Earl Warren regarding the chairmanship of the Commission: "Some rumors went as far as attributing the assassination to a faction within the Government wishing to see the Presidency assumed by President Johnson. Others, if not quenched, could conceivably lead the country into a war which could cost 40 million lives. No one could refuse to do something which might help to prevent such a possibility. The President convinced him that this was an occasion on which actual conditions had to override general principles."

The Schweiker-Hart Report included reference to an 11/25/63 memo from Deputy Attorney General Katzenbach to Presidential Secretary Bill Moyers which says in part (SHR, p. 23): "The public must be satisfied that Oswald was the assassin: that he did not have confederates who are still at large; and that the evidence was such that he would have been convicted at trial. Speculation about Oswald's motivation ought to be cut off, and we should have some basis for rebutting thought that this was a Communist conspiracy or (as the Iron Curtain press is saying) a right-wing conspiracy to blame it on the Communists."

In sections of this memo which have not previously been made public, Katzenbach wrote: "Unfortunately the facts on Oswald seem about too pat—too obvious (Marxist, Cuba, Russian wife, etc.). The Dallas police have put out statements on the Communist conspiracy theory, and it was they who were in charge when he was shot and thus silenced. . . . We can scarcely let the world see us in the image of the Dallas police when our President is murdered. . . . We need something to head off public speculation or Congressional hearings of the wrong sort."

Perhaps even more to the point, Texas researchers Penn Jones (*Forgive My Grief*) and Larry Harris and Gary Shaw (*Coverup*) have reported in their books that LBJ called Dallas Police homicide chief Will Fritz asking him to halt the police probe on the morning of 11/23/63, saying "You've got your man."

Although the AIB has serious reservations about the premise of ABC's dramatized history, we think the words attributed to LBJ by ABC are a fair summary of the LBJ-Katzenbach position.

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and the Kennedy Subcm. have already stated that they have no intention of investigating CIA mind-control activities any further.

What was Helms trying to cover up? Recently released documents indicate that the CIA's mind control programs were explicitly *offensive* in orientation. An early CIA memo dated 1/25/52, pertaining to Operation Artichoke, asks the following: "Can we get control of an individual to the point where he will do our bidding against his will and even against such fundamental laws as self-preservation?" Indeed, this was perhaps the ultimate goal of the CIA's behavior-control programs. How successful was the CIA in realizing its dream of a Manchurian Candidate? Because the records are sketchy, at best, we are left only with suggestive hints and innuendos.

But one thing is certain. The moral sense that gave rise to this secret research is still very much with us. CIA memos justify the administration of dangerous drugs "under conditions of war"—a meaningless proposition, since in the covert war, victory is never absolute. The only guidelines adhered to by intelligence operatives were their own personal judgments. No one, to date, has been reprimanded or brought to task for participating in these activities.

The Cold War chickens have come home to roost, and Congress, once again, has shown with flying colors that it is no match for Big Brother.

NOTE: The AIB urges anyone who has been victimized by CIA or related mind-control activities, or who might otherwise have pertinent information to share on this subject, to contact our office.



CONGRESS and the MK-ULTRA WHITEWASH

The bottom line on this whole business has not been written.

Sidney Gottlieb
former chief of the CIA's
Technical Service Division

On September 20 and 21, 1977, The Senate Subcm. on Health and Scientific Research, composed of Ted Kennedy and Richard Schweiker, held hearings on MK-ULTRA and related CIA behavior control programs. The hearings were prompted by a series of disclosures during the summer which revealed that the CIA's mind-bending initiatives were far more extensive than first recognized. In his opening statement, Chairman Kennedy confessed that he hoped "the next two days of hearings will close the book on this chapter of the CIA's life."

The Subcm. focused primarily on the CIA's drug tests on unwitting civilians. David Rhodes, a former CIA psychologist, told of his MK-ULTRA adventures in San Francisco with Walter Pasternak, a CIA operative who double-timed as an official for the Society of the Study of Human Ecology, which served as a CIA conduit. Rhodes and Pasternak (who has been missing since August 3, 1977, after failing to appear before a joint hearing of the Senate Intelligence Committee and the Kennedy Subcm.) were instrumental in setting up safehouses, which served as field laboratories for testing offensive chemical and biological warfare weapons.

Rhodes explained how unsuspecting subjects were recruited from local bars and lured to a party, where CIA operatives intended to release LSD in the form of an aerosol spray. The Senators sat back in their chairs and relaxed as Rhodes described how another CIA "psychologist," John Gittlinger, tried the spray on himself after discovering the air currents in the room were unsuitable for dosing the partygoers. The audience guffawed at the prospect of grown men tinkering with "government acid," while reporters eagerly scribbled their renditions of the headline-making tale. The mood of the hearings was set from the start.

The myth the CIA loves to propagate about itself when under public pressure became apparent as we heard one account after another of bungling and clumsiness on the part of Agency personnel. By stressing ineptitude, the Company creates the air of the all-too-human: the Gerald Ford Syndrome . . . Who needs to prosecute a bunch of regular Joes for fooling with chemicals they could never hope to understand?

A central figure in the CIA's safehouse experiments, which began in 1952 and lasted until 1965, was the late George Hunter White, a former Lt. Colonel in the OSS and a long-time high-ranking official in the Federal Bureau of Narcotics. White, aka "Morgan Hall," hired drug-addicted prostitutes to spike the drinks of unsuspecting customers. LSD, or "Stormy," as safehouse operatives referred to it, was the one substance, according to Agency officials, "that really had fantastic possibilities if used wrongly." Apparently, the CIA found this possibility irresistible.

"These activities," Kennedy explained, in referring to the CIA's surreptitious acid tests, "are part of history, not the current practice of the CIA." And that's as far as it went. The LSD-buffoonery proved to be an effective PR-gimmick, as the Subcm. never sought to probe the obvious CIA-Mafia link represented by White, a man described by former CIA Inspector General Lyman Kirkpatrick as someone who had "good access to criminal types."

In 1942, for example, White was involved in negotiations with August Del Gracia, a NYC hoodlum tied to Meyer Lansky, for the release of Lucky Luciano from federal prison. In return, the Mob promised to cooperate with allied forces during WWII. Known as "Operation Underworld," this early political alliance between the

Mafia and American Intelligence apparently occurred with the good graces of the Roosevelt administration.

But the Subcm. chose not to pursue this line of inquiry. Nor did either Senator press the point when Robert Lashbrook (a CIA chemist, who served as Gottlieb's right-hand man) claimed he was unable to recall any connection between MK-ULTRA and the CIA's "Executive Action" capability. An unlikely remark, considering that many of the lethal devices intended for use by CIA-Mob hit teams originated in MK-ULTRA gadget shops.

When asked to justify the CIA's fascination with mind control, Gottlieb resorted to the familiar Cold War refrain invoked repeatedly throughout the hearings by numerous witnesses. The original impetus for this work, we are told, stemmed from concern about the "aggressive use of behavior-altering techniques against this country by its enemies." Gottlieb claimed that in the early '50s there was tangible evidence that "both the Soviets and the Red Chinese *might* [emphasis added] be using techniques of altering human behavior which were not understood by the USA and which would have implications of national survival in the context of national security."

The evidence Gottlieb cited to support this quintessential Cold War rationalization was hardly definitive. The CIA pushed the false story that the USSR bought up the world's supply of LSD in the early '50s. Furthermore, according to Gottlieb, a senior American diplomat *might* have been drugged while accompanying Nixon on his trip to Russia in 1971, although no evidence was offered to back up this contention.

As it turns out, the Cold War party line was a cover story all along. In response to questions whether the CIA should continue testing drugs on unwitting subjects, on 11/9/64 then-Deputy Director Richard Helms warned that the Agency's "positive operational capacity to use drugs is diminishing, owing to a lack of field testing. With increasing knowledge of the state of the art, we are less capable of staying up with Soviet advances in this field."

But only a few months earlier, Helms stated in a 6/26/64 memo to J. Lee Rankin, chief counsel for the Warren Commission, that "Soviet research in the pharmaceutical agents producing behavioral effects has consistently lagged about five years behind Western research. . . . There is no present evidence that the Soviets have any singular, new, potent drugs, or that they are particularly expert in the use of such drugs to force a course of action on an individual."

"In summary," Helms concluded, "there is no evidence that the Soviets have any techniques or agents capable of producing particular behavioral patterns which are not available in the West. . . . Some of the more esoteric techniques such as ESP or, as the Soviets call it, 'biological radio-communication,' and psychogenic agents such as LSD, are receiving some overt attention with, possibly, applications in mind for individual behavior control under clandestine conditions. However, we require more information than is currently available in order to establish or disprove planned or actual applications of various methodologies by Soviet scientists to control the actions of particular individuals."

Helms' candid appraisal of Russian mind control capability directly contradicts not only his own public statements, but also the testimony of most of the witnesses called before the Kennedy Subcm. In 1973 Helms ordered Gottlieb to destroy all CIA documents relevant to the operational employment of behavior control techniques developed since WWII. The files were destroyed, Gottlieb explained, because of a "burgeoning paper problem."

Would it not have been in the interest of national security, however, to at least keep records of the information accumulated by the CIA during the past three decades—especially in light of Stansfield Turner's own admission that America's enemies were supposedly still active in these areas? Turner recently recommended against calling Helms to testify before Congressional committees probing intelligence matters, fearing that the former CIA Director might reveal secrets that would have a detrimental effect on the Agency. Both the Senate Intelligence Committee

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8. Clandestine America

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Marc made a note . . .

Marc went back to the library thoughtfully. It could be CIA, it could be Mafia, it could be a nut, it could be anything. He asked the girl for the Carl Oglesby book. A well-thumbed volume beginning to come apart was supplied. Sheed, Andrews, McMeel, Inc., 6700 Squibb Rd., Mission, Kansas. It was going to make good reading, but for now back to the senator's life histories, still the immediate task . . . "

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commissioned by the Nuclear Regulatory Commission (known as "The Barton Paper") raises the possibility that special police forces would be needed to conduct surveillance of the anti-nuke activists and says that the government might be forced to detain dissidents and use torture to get information from them.

* * * *

Those who want to contribute to the Silkwood Lawsuit Fund should send their contributions to the Emergency Civil Liberties Foundation, 317 21st St., Nederland, Texas 77627.

Those who desire additional information on the Silkwood case should write to the Supporters of Silkwood, 520 Butternut St. NW, Washington, DC 20012.

RECENT ARTICLES

1. "Page-One Hoax from a Cloak & Dagger Duo," by Tim Crouse, *Village Voice*, 11/21/77. Crouse takes a good look at the recent collective antics of Marita Lorenz, Frank Sturgis, the *N.Y. Daily News* and the *N.Y. Police Dept.*
2. "Loran Hall and the Politics of Assassination," by Dick Russell, *Village Voice*, 10/3/77. This article was written before Hall's most recent appearances before the HSCA. Still, a good basic account of Hall's story.
3. "The Assassins," by Daniel Schorr, *N.Y. Review of Books*, 10/13/77. Very disappointing analysis. See rebuttal in this issue.

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4. "Do's, Don't's of House JFK Probe," by George Lardner, Jr., *Washington Post*, 11/6/77. A discussion of the HSCA's non-disclosure agreement, the effect of Blakey's appointment as chief counsel on the fate of the HSCA, and several comments critical of the committee by veteran researcher Harold Weisberg.

5. "Latter-day Intrigues of the Mormon Church," by AlBers Jim Kostman, Harvey Yazijian, and J.C. Louis, *Oui*, 11/77. Examines the connections between the CIA, Watergate, Hughes, and the Mormon Church.

6. "The CIA and the Media," by Carl Bernstein, *Rolling Stone*, 10/20/77. "How America's most powerful news media worked hand in glove with the CIA and why the Church Committee covered it up."

7. "Has the Mafia Penetrated the FBI?", by Nicholas Gage, *N.Y. Times Magazine*, 10/2/77. Gage examines the series of 23 murders that have wiped out a nationwide group of FBI underworld informants. The killings suggest that the Mob has successfully penetrated the FBI, causing great consternation among top FBI brass. Among those identified as a valuable informant was Charles Nicoletti, the former chief enforcer of the Chicago Mafia and a lieutenant to Roselli and Giancana in the CIA-Mafia assassination plots against Castro.

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